

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

JCS PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USDELMC PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T ATHENS 2781

EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, GR, US

SUBJECT: U.S. GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: COMMENTS ON SECOND PLENARY OF  
SECOND ROUND

REFS: (A) ATHENS 2780

(B) ATHENS 2695

USNATO ALSO FOR DEPASSTSECDEF BERGOLD

1. THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE U.S. - GREEK BASE  
NEGOTIATIONS THIS MORNING FURTHER OPENED UP THE GREEK  
POSITION AND WHAT IT REVEALED, THOUGH NOT SURPRISING,  
CONFIRMS OUR INITIAL IMPRESSIONS THAT DIFFICULT PRACTICAL AND  
CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS LIE AHEAD. THE GREEK SIDE DID, IT IS  
TRUE, GRUDGINGLY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN A SUBGROUP ON U.S.  
FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE CAREFUL TO  
REITERATE THEIR BASIC POSITION THAT THESE FACILITIES DO NOT,  
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IN THE GREEK VIEW, CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEFENSE OF GREECE AND

MUST THEREFORE BE ELIMINATED. AMBASSADOR CALOGERAS MADE CLEAR THAT IN THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SUBGROUP ON HELLENIKON TOMORROW THE GREEK SIDE WOULD LISTEN AND HE HOPED THAT WE WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO IDENTIFY WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE ESSENTIAL ACTIVITIES AT HELLENIKON. THIS DOES NOT MOVE US VERY FAR AHEAD, BUT IT DOES AT LEAST IMPLY THAT THERE IS MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE GREEK POSITION ON U.S. FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON THAN THE GREEK SIDE HAS YET BEEN WILLING TO CONCEDE IN THE FORMAL SESSIONS. OUR OWN PRESENTATION IN THE SUBGROUP MEETING WILL BE CAUTIOUS AND CONSERVATIVE. WE WILL CERTAINLY NOT REPEAT NOT AT THIS STAGE ASSIGN PRIORITIES TO SPECIFIC COMPONENT SERVICES AT HELLENIKON OR DO MORE THAN INDICATE A GENERAL WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER REDUCTIONS IN PERSONNEL THERE.

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND WE MUST BEGIN TO THINK ABOUT THE BEST MOMENT TO INTRODUCE HOMEPORTING INTO THE EQUATION. THIS IS A REAL THOUGH PERHAPS DIMINISHING ASSET FROM OUR STANDPOINT. EVEN IF THE GREEKS SUSPECT THAT FOR OUR OWN PURPOSES WE INTEND TO TERMINATE HOMEPORTING, THEY ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE TIMING WE HAVE IN MIND AND THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HOMEPORTING WOULD BE TERMINATED. OUR REFERENCES TO CONSIDERATIONS OF TIMING IN THE FIRST PLENARY ON MONDAY WERE DESIGNED TO AGGRAVATE GREEK DOUBTS AND IN SO DOING TO ENHANCE THE VALUE OF WHATEVER CONCESSIONS WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE ON HOMEPORTING.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME INFORMALLY (THAT IS, OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF PLENARY OR SUBGROUP MEETINGS) TO LINK THE TERMINATION OF HOMEPORTING EXPLICITLY WITH THE CONTINUATION OF ESSENTIAL U.S. FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON. ACCORDINGLY, STEARNS PROPOSES TO SEE CALOGERAS FRIDAY, TO TELL HIM THAT GREEK INFLEXIBILITY ON THE SUBJECT OF HELLENIKON IS CREATING REAL PROBLEMS FOR US, AND TO SAY THAT HE IS PREPARED TO SEEK "CLARIFICATION" FROM WASHINGTON ON THE SUBJECT OF HOMEPORTING BUT WILL NEED FROM CALOGERAS AN INDICATION THAT THE GREEK SIDE ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE OF A CONTINUING AMERICAN PRESENCE AT HELLENIKON. STEARNS WILL SAY THAT WASHINGTON IS STILL STUDYING THE QUESTION OF HOMEPORTING AND HAS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION DECISIONS ON THE PERSONNEL

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AND FACILITIES AT ELEFSIS. HE BELIEVES PERSONALLY THAT IF THE GREEK SIDE DEMONSTRATES FLEXIBILITY ON U.S. FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON, WASHINGTON MAY BE PERSUADED TO REACH DECISIONS ON HOMEPORTING WHICH WOULD BE POLITICALLY USEFUL TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, AND, IN ANY EVENT, IF CALOGERAS IS WILLING TO CONCEDE THE PRINCIPLE OF A CONTINUING U.S. PRESENCE AT HELLENIKON, STEARNS WILL TRY TO PERSUADE WASHINGTON TO BE FORTHCOMING ABOUT HOMEPORTING.

4. THIS INFORMAL APPROACH BY STEARNS TO CALOGERAS WOULD NOT RPT NOT COMMIT US TO ANYTHING SPECIFIC BUT WOULD SERVE THE PURPOSE OF SETTING UP HOMEPORTING AS A TRADEOFF FOR US FACILITIES AT HELLENIKON. SHOULD CALOGERAS REJECT THIS ATTEMPT TO LINK THE TWO SUBJECTS, WE SHALL HAVE TO CONSIDER FURTHER OUR TACTICS WITH RESPECT TO HOMEPORTING.

5. THE CHIEF CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM INTRODUCED BY CALOGERAS THIS MORNING RELATES TO THE FORM OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH THE GREEK SIDE SEEMS TO ANTICIPATE WILL EMERGE FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS. CONCLUSION OF AN AMNIBUS OR UMBRELLA AGREEMENT WHICH COULD BE SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE GREEK PARLIAMENT AND WOULD ATTRACT STRONG CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT FOR APPROVAL BY THE US SENATE WOULD HAVE OBVIOUS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, WHILE CALOGERAS DID NOT SUPPLY THE PRECISE PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE WHICH THE GREEKS ARE CONSIDERING, HIS BRIEF COMMENTS SUGGESTED A PREAMBLE WHICH WOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN THE NATO GUARANTEE OF GREEK SECURITY PEGGED TO ARTICLE 5 OF THE NATO TREATY DESPITE AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT THAT GREECE WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE MILITARY WING OF NATO. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO US AND WOULD GO WELL BEYOND OUT TERMS OF REFERENCE IN THESE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON BASES AND FACILITIES.

6. AT VARIOUS POINTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE POINTED OUT, AND THRE GREEK SIDE HAS CONCEDED, THAT THE DEFINITION OF GREECE'S NEW ROLE IN NATO MUST BE NEGOTIATED WITH NATO AND CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE U.S. ALONE. INDEED, THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN PAINS TO MAKE CLEAR PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT THE NGOTIATIONS WITH THE U.S. ON BASES AND FACILITIES CANNOT RPT NOT PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO. A CASE IN POINT IS

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PROVIDED BY AN ATHENS NEWS AGENCY ITEM THIS MORNING WWHICH WAS CLEARLY ISSUED ON BACKGROUND BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO ALLAY NATO ANXIETIES. THE ITEM STATES, "...THE QUESTION OF GREECE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MILITARY SECTION OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAS NO CONNECTIN WITH THE TALKS BEING HELD BETWEEN THE U.S. AND GREEK GOVERNMENTS ON REVISION OF THE STATUS OF U.S. BASES IN GREECE."

7. WHEN WE HAVE RECEIVED THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE OMNIBUS AGREEMENT, OR PORTIONS OF IT, PROMISED US BY CALOGERAS EARLY NEXT WEEK, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE EXACTLY WHAT THE GREEKS HAVE IN MIND. IF WE FIND THAT THE TEXT DOES IMPINE ON SUBJECTS WHICH THE GREEKS MUST DISCUSS WITH NATO ITSELF, SUCH AS QUESTIN OF GUARANTEES, WE WILL AT THE NEXT PLENARY SESSION ON TUESDAY, APRIL 15,

ADDRESS OURSELVES DIRECTLY TO THAT POINT, REMINDING THE  
GREEK SIDE ONCE AGAIN THAT OUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS DEAL  
ONLY WITH SPECIFIC U.S. FACILITIES AND BASES IN GREECE AND  
THAT OTHER DIMENSIONS OF GREECE'S MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE  
U.S., THOSE DIMENSIONS WHICH HAVE A MULTILATERAL CHARACTER  
OR MULTILATERAL IMPLICATIONS, MUST BE RESERVED FOR DISCUSSION  
WITHIN NATO.  
KUBISCH

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## Message Attributes

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